342 required to build the short pig fence protecting the average
[476] garden. A house is replaced by intermittent work on construction over a period of several weeks.

476 Co-operation with households outside the expanded family is usually on the basis of assistance given for a day or two by an individual to fulfil some kinship obligation or to help a neighbour who is sick. Any assistance a man receives usually comes from individual kin rather than a working party composed of
614 his agnates. This may be because Sivepo is one example of the type of Melanesian societies where clans or their segments 'are small and communities composed of several, permitting local endogamy' and co-operation with local kin and affines dilutes the strength of the unilineal group (Brown 1962:68).

461 The work patterns we recorded are summarized in Table 4. The figure for the time taken up by sickness (including caring for
[164] the sick) was affected by the facts that during the survey 2 householders suffered from lengthy bouts of malaria (1 was hospitalized) and that some women needed to attend to their sick children; the figure for travel was affected by the absence for several days of 1 householder and his wife who walked to Popondetta where they had business at the District Office.

132 The extreme weather conditions experienced during our survey -
461 26.3 inches of rain in 1 month with 25 wet days followed by a long period without rain - restricted both the range of subsistence activities possible and to some extent the time available for them. The amount of time devoted to subsistence and cash crop gardening
[197] was appreciably lower during each of 3 weeks which were marked by the celebration of non-traditional festivals. Several villagers were among a group of 100 people baptized as Anglicans at Sasembata Mission.

795 During the week this occurred the women of the sample devoted
461 more time to preparing for and attending the ritual than to economic activities. The men also spent more time than usual in the village, several of them building or repairing houses. Most of the men spent several hours watching the baptism itself. Although the baptism differed from the life-crises traditionally celebrated by feasts, a number of small independent gatherings to mark the transition were held afterwards in the village by the close kin of those baptized.

796 Religious observances were accorded a little more time during
461 the week of Christmas than in normal weeks. There were no festivities within the village to mark the occasion and church attendance was the only organized Christmas celebration except for ceremonial at Saiho which a few Sivepo people attended on
461 Boxing Day. Several people were disabled by attacks of malaria at the time but few of the others considered these 2 days as

Chapter 6

Activity patterns: Sivepe

125

Introduction

[126]

The Sivepe survey involved 35 adults (17 men and 18 women). Of these, 23 were resident in the village throughout, the remainder either commencing or terminating their residence during the survey period. In all, a total of 5,310 man-days was covered although, on account of temporary absences and sickness, detailed records were only kept for a shorter period. Of the total available labour time 6 per cent (320 man-days) was lost through absences longer than 24 hours and a further 4 per cent (212.4 man-days) through sickness within the village. However, during a single week in period I, at the height of an influenza epidemic, 29.6 per cent of potential labour time was unavailable (see Fig.6:1).

464

[164]

[734]

166

(a) Temporary absences

A total of 453 man-nights was spent away from the village, or 8.5 per cent of all covered by the survey.[1] An analysis of reasons for absence is presented in Table 6:1. The major single cause, 36 per cent of the total, is visits to ex-servicemen settlers at Sangara, mostly by kinsmen[2] to assist in establishing the block. A further 26 per cent of absences involved garden work, either protecting the gardens from incursions by pigs, or facilitating intensive clearing programmes.

While the fulfilling of social obligations accounts for only 16 per cent of all absences, it involves the largest number of people (24 of a possible 35, compared with 13 for garden work and 5 at Sangara) and is characteristically of short duration, seldom more than one or two nights away from the village. By contrast, the

---

[1] The difference between this and the figure of 6 per cent for man-days quoted above being that some of the nights involved absences of less than 24 hours duration.

[2] A daughter of one of the sample is married to a settler while a Jegase man from a neighbouring village also has a block at Sangara.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 0323 Orokaiva 0323

Table 6:1

Sivepa: nights absent from the village by cause

		Garden work	Social obligations	Sickness	At Sangara*	External agencies	Other	Total nights absent	Total nights present
Period I									
	Nights	14	43	33	32	19	4	145	2,685
	Per cent	10	30	23	22	13	3	101	
Period II									
	Nights	38	13	-	-	36	2	89	1,169
	Per cent	43	15	-	-	40	2	100	
Period III									
	Nights	67	17	2	128	4	1	219	1,456
	Per cent	31	8	1	58	2	-	100	
Total									
	Nights	119	73	35	160	59	7	453	5,310
	Per cent	26	16	8	36	13	1	100	
Percentage of all nights present and absent		2	1	1	3	1	-	8	91

* On extended visits to or in the employment of settlers.

mean duration of absences at Sangara is 26.7 nights. In the case of such long absences only one member of the household is normally involved so that the routine of gardening activities is not greatly disrupted. 166

As Fig.6.1 demonstrates, some periodic variation is discernible in the pattern of absences. During the first seven weeks of period I absences occurred on only 1.7 per cent of survey nights, but for the rest of the survey a substantially higher percentage was maintained. These first weeks largely coincided with an (abortive) attempt to establish a communal cash crop garden in the village.[1]

The proportion of absences rose to 10.1 per cent during the last six weeks of period I, falling slightly to 7.4 per cent during period II, the main cash cropping season, and rising to a peak of 15 per cent in period III. During this last period over half (59 per cent) involved visits to Sangara.

In analysing absences according to sex, age and cash cropping status some meaningful patterns emerge (see Table 6:2). Men tend to absent themselves more than women, largely on account of their greater dealings with the external agencies (17 per cent of all their absences). [562]

The 25-34 years old age group is distinguished by its very low incidence of absences - less than 2 per cent of survey nights compared with over 10 per cent for all other age groups. Virtually all absences in this age group were connected with social obligations or garden work; no visits were made to Sangara. The mobility of this age group may be influenced by the fact that it comprises young married people with families.

Cash croppers absent themselves less than non-cash croppers, while almost 42 per cent of the former's absences is connected with subsistence garden work and only 6 per cent involved visits to Sangara. By contrast non-cash croppers are not only absent more frequently but spent 55 per cent of all nights absent at Sangara. Since assistance to settlers is normally reciprocated with cash payments or trade store goods (usually food), evidently those with no reliable avenue for acquiring cash within the village context perceive assisting kinsmen on the land settlement scheme as an important alternative source. [434]

(b) Sickness

While sickness and the care of sick people account for a minority of absences from the village, they did result in 212.4 man-days being spent totally inactive within the village and a further 615 464 734 164

[1] See pp.44-5. 4

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

164 man-hours were absorbed by clinic visits and related public health activities. So, grouping all three categories together, sickness accounts for almost 7 per cent of potential activity time.

In analysing the 212.4 man-days spent inactive, Fig.6:1 indicates that 26 per cent fell during two weeks in period I when an influenza epidemic swept the area. It is during the latter part of the wet season that sickness reaches its most serious proportions, accounting for 7 per cent of potential activity time. Malaria, being endemic, is the most common cause along with other parasitic diseases of a debilitating nature; hence the seasonal pattern.

Table 6:3

Sivepe: incidence of sickness according to sex, age and cash cropping status

	Sex		Age				Cash cropping status	
	M	F	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	Yes	No
Percentage of days sick to total survey days	5.1	4.2	2.3	2.0	1.5	8.3	1.8	8.8

Table 6:3 shows that the older people suffer most and also that non-cash croppers spend a significantly higher proportion of their time sick than cash croppers. While this is largely because the heads of non-cash cropping households are, on average, older than the others[1] it may well be that the non-cash croppers, lacking the initiative of the others, more readily assume the sick role.

Temporary absences apart, 4,990 man-days were spent in Sivepe, and during this time the villagers' activities occupied 28,975 hours, or 5.8 hours per man-day. Furthermore, virtually all these activities, except hunting, certain social activities and, occasionally, house construction, were confined to the daylight hours.

Patterns of activity and seasonal influences

The adult residents of Sivepe are active, on average, 40.6 hours per man-week, although, as Fig.6:2 demonstrates, there is a substantial variation from week to week. The actual range during the observed period was 34.4 to 51.3 man-hours.

[1] Of the 11 households resident throughout the survey the heads of the non-cash cropping ones are all in the 45+ age bracket while only 2 of the 7 cash cropping ones are.

512 [75] [164]

Systematic data gathered on sickness refers primarily to activities of a preventative nature - the periodic infant welfare clinics and, in one week during period III, a TB survey involving X-rays and Mantoux tests accounted for 9.1 hours per man. However, in the survey as a whole, a mean of only 0.9 hours per man-week was incurred by sickness.

Activities of a minor nature account for an average of 0.8 hours per man-week and include sport, services rendered to the researcher and, during period III, the expenditure of 0.7 hours per man-week in the preparation of the new village site. By the end of the survey much of this site had been cleared and a number of individuals were planting 'catch crops' of taro and bananas.

461 433

Within the total Sivepe economy 'productive' activities account for 29.8 hours expended per man-week, or 73 per cent of activity time. However, the productive component within the subsistence and external sectors differs greatly, being 89 per cent of activity time in the former but only 30 per cent in the latter. The absolute insignificance of cash-producing activities should be viewed in this context, of the relatively unproductive nature of Orokaiva involvement in the external economy.

The organisation of work by households

512 461

Table 6:5 reveals substantial variations in both the volume and patterns of activity between individual households which, while they enable a distinction to be drawn between cash cropper and non-cash cropper, are largely explicable in terms of the structure and composition of the households themselves.

With a mean activity-week of 40.6 hours recorded, the individual household range is 29.4 to 65.3 hours. However, household 12, in which the 65.3 hours per man-week are expended, is somewhat aberrant in that it consists of a widowed woman with six children, the eldest of whom is a full-time nurse at the infant welfare clinic at Sasembata, to which job she devoted an average of 53.7 hours per week. The work accounts for almost half the time expended per man-week by the whole household. This, and the absence of an adult male, seriously undermined their ability to carry out essential subsistence tasks - so they only spent 11.1 hours per man-week on clearing, subsistence gardening and other subsistence food production compared with the sample mean of 19.4 hours. Significantly, by the end of period I the household had left the village, the mother to re-marry and the eldest daughter to reside on the mission station. By eliminating household 12 the range is reduced to 29.4 to 50.4 hours per man-week.

[887]

At the lower end of the range are households incorporating the oldest people in the village. While probably less productive in their labour, these people are deprived of a much higher proportion

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 96]

Chapter 7

Activity patterns: Inonda

Introduction

Records were kept of the daily activities of the 19 permanent adult residents of Inonda and of 2 young people (one aged 15 and the other 16) who spent periods of a few weeks in the village helping kinsmen. These 21 people were regarded as residents for a total of 3,230 man-days. Temporary absences of more than 24 hours duration amounted to 560 man-days and so the number of man-days considered below amounts to 2,670. Table 7:1 shows the number of man-days absent in each recording period and in total.

The number of effective working days in the village is further reduced by sickness. When suffering from major illnesses such as malaria and influenza, people generally stay in bed at home or at the aid post. Comparatively minor ailments such as skin infections, tropical ulcers and cuts are usually dealt with by brief visits to the aid post, mostly early in the morning before work. Such visits occupied almost 600 man-hours over the survey.

Table 7:2 shows the incidence of sickness when people were inactive in the village. Periods of sickness spent at the aid post or hospital are included under 'Absences' in Table 7:1.

Figure 7:1 illustrates the weekly incidence of man-days occupied by sickness while in the village and by absence. There are wide fluctuations in the incidence of both, but particularly the latter, which ranges from zero to 46 man-days. The peaks of absences occur mainly with feasts in distant villages and when several villagers are sick at the same time and stay at the aid post or with relatives. Sickness tends to be most common during the wet season (periods I and III).

During the 2,670 man-days resident in the village, the activities carried out by the sample occupied 16,620 hours or 6.2 hours per person per day.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 0723 Orokaiva 0723

164 234 991

Table 6:2

Sivepe: nights absent from the village by cause and according to sex, age and cash cropping status

	Sex		Age				Cash cropping status	
	M	F	15-24	25-34	35-44	45+	Yes	No
Total nights present	2,629	2,681	826	1,334	882	2,268	3,157	2,153
Nights absent (per cent)	10.3	6.8	11.5	1.8	10.4	10.6	5.7	12.6
Absences - by cause (as a percentage of total absences)								
Garden work	28.0	23.8	2.2	33.3	13.0	40.2	41.7	16.2
Social obligations	15.9	17.1	27.4	45.8	22.8	6.6	21.7	12.9
Sickness	5.5	11.0	-	4.2	-	14.1	1.1	12.1
At Sangara	31.7	41.4	69.5	-	12.0	34.9	6.1	55.1
External agencies	16.6	6.6	-	-	46.8	4.1	27.2	2.9
Other	2.2	-	1.0	16.7	5.4	-	2.2	0.7
Total	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9

491
484

Table 7:1

Inconda: days absent from village, by cause

		Garden work	Fishing	Sick and care of sick	External agencies	Visits	Other social	Other	Total days absent	Total days present
Period I										
	Days	20	26	13	1	139	52	9	260	1,252
	Per cent	8	10	5	-	54	20	3	100	
Period II										
	Days	-	-	38	43	60	4	-	145	593
	Per cent	-	-	26	30	41	3	-	100	
Period III										
	Days	-	16	52	40	29	14	4	155	825
	Per cent	-	10	34	26	19	8	3	100	
Total										
	Days	20	42	103	84	228	70	13	560	2,670
	Per cent	4	8	18	15	41	12	2	100	
Percentage of all days present and absent		1	1	3	3	7	2	-	17	83

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 0723 Orokaiva 0723

164

Table 7:2

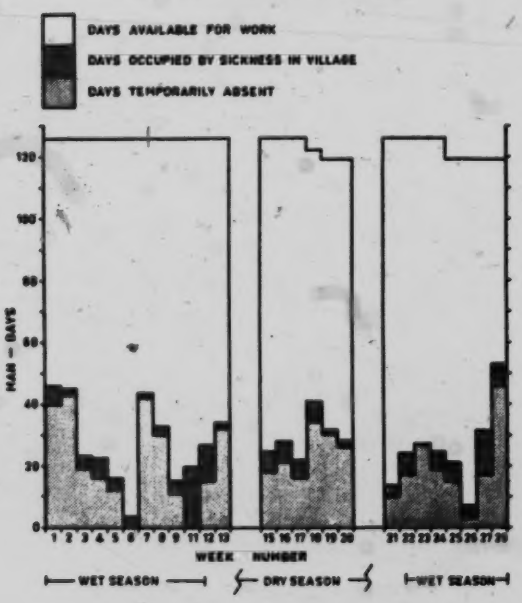
Inonda: man-days occupied by sickness while in village

	Personal sickness	Care of sick	Total
Period I	61.5	2	63.5
Period II	22	6.5	28.5
Period III	43.2	3.5	46.7
Total	126.7	12	138.7

464
164

INONDA FIGURE 7:1

POTENTIAL WORKING DAYS AND DAYS OCCUPIED BY ABSENCE AND SICKNESS



entirely mourning and funeral feasts. The bulk of the time is evenly divided between more or less formal social occasions and visits to kin and friends. The formal occasions include traditional feasts to mark the end of a dispute, to distribute the first fruits of a garden planted with the help of others, to mark the birth of a first child and to give or receive returns for feasts held previously. They also include non-traditional celebrations such as parties to mark birthdays, the opening of a new school and the saint's day of the local church. Such occasions usually occupy at least half a day and continue until midnight or dawn, whereas visits, as recorded here, are generally of only a few hours' duration. Visits may be made simply to see a friend or kinsman or they may be specifically to make or receive a gift, to return a borrowed article such as a gun, lamp or sago-beater or to discuss matters of common concern such as a projected feast. Visits occurred more during periods II and III but feasts and other formal occasions occupied more time during the latter part of the wet season, when they amounted to 3.1 hours per person per week compared with 0.3 hours per week in the dry and 1.9 hours per week at the beginning of the wet.

Among other activities, the most frequent include seeking employment in Popondetta, journeys impeded by flooded streams or rain and meeting kin or friends returning from visits. The time devoted to them varies greatly from week to week. For instance, after the road-building work near the village ceased early in 1964, little time was spent in gambling or seeking paid work.

The time shown in Table 7:3 as occupied by sickness represents visits to the aid post for personal sickness, care of the sick and attendance at the fortnightly infant welfare clinic.[1] As noted, the incidence of sickness tends to be greater during wet weather when malaria and epidemics of influenza may occur.[2]

Individuals devote a total of 10.5 hours per week to non-productive activities. However, the distinction between these and the productive activities is not clear cut. For instance, part of the labour input in gardening may be designed to ensure a surplus of certain foodstuffs to meet specific social obligations. Similarly, visits to a kinsman may be undertaken in order to organise production and other aspects of a future feast, to assist in time of need or to make or receive a gift of food.

---

[1] In addition to this time, individuals were inactive through sickness for an average of half a day a week (see Tables 7:1 and 7:2).

[2] During 1964 there were two influenza epidemics, in April and December.

592 exchange network and they must use cash and storebought goods to
512 compensate for this.

[461] Few households differ greatly from the average in the amount of time they devote to household tasks. The widower, like most men, seldom cooked, whereas in household 18 the widow's son was rarely
[462] present and the mean weekly time spent in household tasks is strongly influenced by the time spent in cooking by the widow. Household 16 appears to spend less than the average time since it contains two men as well as the wife's mother, who does not cook as often as her daughter. The small amount of time spent by household 22 is probably due to the fact that the members had comparatively few clothes and so little time was spent in washing.

●164 As mentioned, much of the time shown as spent in sickness involves visits to the aid post and particularly to the fortnightly infant welfare clinic. Households containing small children, then, appear to spend most time in sickness. When days, rather than hours of sickness (including periods spent outside the village at hospital or the aid post), are taken into account, it is the households containing people over 45 that are most often sick. Household 24 spends on average 1.3 days per man-week in sickness. In addition to regular fevers, the household head suffered an anal prolapse in August and he and his wife spent the last 19 days of period II at Saiho hospital. Households 18 and 19 have the next highest sickness rates. Household 16 also has a comparatively high rate, largely because of the presence of the wife's aged mother but also because the whole household was sick with influenza during most of the last two weeks of the survey. All of the other households spent less than half a day per week in sickness.

592 There is not much difference between households in the amount of
512 time spent on social obligations. The widow and the wife of the head of household 21 spend rather more time than others in visiting, while the entrepreneur's household, (23), and the widower do little, and the latter was also unable to attend two feasts on account of sickness.

592 In addition to differences in activity patterns between the in-
512 dividual households, certain distinctions appear between cash
461 cropping and non-cash cropping households as groups. As is to be expected, cash cropping households spend more time in planting and tending commercial trees. Non-cash cropping households spend only 0.2 hours per man-week in cash cropping, assisting others and working on the copra project, but even cash croppers spend an average of only 1.5 hours per week on their trees. The two categories devote a similar amount of time to paid work and entrepreneurial activities - primarily because the Jego'undi man's period of work on the settlement block was intensive enough to outweigh the effect of the older non-cash croppers, who did no paid work. On average, people in non-cash cropping households spend 3.5 hours more per

592 512 461 week than those in cash cropping households in subsistence gardening and also more time in clearing, even though one of the former was clearing a garden for coffee. This is largely the result of the efforts of the widow and widower and household 24 in assisting others, as described above. Balancing the greater amount of time spent by non-cash cropping households in productive subsistence activities, the cash cropping households spend more time in tasks concerned with the external agencies, particularly purchasing, in household tasks and in sickness and care of the sick. This last is [757] without taking the separately-recorded days of sickness into account. In fact, the non-cash croppers, being generally older, are more liable to prolonged periods of sickness and are also more reluctant to go to the aid post when sick - often instead using a stinging leaf known as <u>irongo</u> as a counter-irritant for a variety of ills. In addition, three wives of cash croppers attended the infant welfare clinic regularly but only one non-cash cropping woman had an infant child. Table 7:7 shows details of these separately-recorded days of sickness, including sickness during absences.

Table 7:7

<u>Inonda: days spent in sickness per man-month</u>

164

	Cash cropping households	Non-cash cropping households
Personal sickness:		
within village	0.8	1.5
outside of village	0.5	0.7
Care of sick:		
within village	0.1	-
outside of village	-	0.7
Total	1.4	2.9

592 512 461 Although the cash cropping households have, on average, a longer working week than others, it is clear that this is not due simply to time spent on their cash crops. It is noteworthy that non-cash cropping households, as well as spending a greater proportion of time in subsistence gardening, also dispose of slightly more garden produce per week than the cash cropping households, while the latter record a net inflow of garden produce and dispose of more store-bought foods (see Tables 11:8 and 11:9).

462 <u>The division of labour: the influence of sex</u>

Table 7:8 shows the division of labour between the sexes. As would be expected, men perform the major part of the heaviest tasks, including planting crops as well as clearing and fencing gardens,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 148]

Appendix 1

Sivopa and Inonda: characteristics of the samples

(i) Demographic

	January 1964	Births	Deaths	Arrivals	Departures	January 1965	Net change
Inonda	35	nil	nil	3	7	31	-11.4%
Sivopa							
Village	114	3	2	3	30*	98	-14.0%
Sample	43	2	1	3	17	30	-20.9%

(ii) Household

	No.	Size		Labour units		With individual cash crop holdings
		Average	Range	Average	Range	
Inonda	9	3.9	1-6	2.0	0.8-3.4	4**
Sivopa						
Village	23	5.0	1-10	2.5	0.0***-4.5	10#
Sample	14	4.3	1-7	2.4	0.8-3.8	4#

(iii) Educational experience of the sample household heads

	None	Prep. to Std I	Std II to Std IV	Std V to Std VII	Std VIII plus	Agricultural training	Technical training
Inonda	3	2	1	1	nil	1	1
Sivopa	9	4	1	nil	nil	nil	nil

(iv) Work experience of the sample household heads

	Period##								
	Under 1	1-1.9	2-2.9	3-4.9	5-6.9	7-9.9	10-14.9	15-19.9	20 and over
Inonda	1	1	nil	2	3	nil	nil	1	1###
Sivopa	3	1	1	3	2	1	1	nil	2#

* Eleven (35 per cent) moved to other villages, the balance sought wage employment either within the District or in Port Moresby.

** One man planted 200 coffee trees during 1964.

*** An aged widow.

However, all villagers have access to a communal rubber plantation, tapped on a rota basis.

An expression of the number of years in paid work (where unskilled) multiplied by 1.5 (where skilled but without responsibility) and multiplied by 2.0 (where skilled with responsibility).

This man served 27 years as a mission teacher and has a total 'work value' of 62.

Both served as village officials (either village constable or local government councillor) for many years.

153 164 166 842 811 448

245 half acres of coffee or cocoa. This would yield no income for
434 the first four years and a maximum of £100 per year thereafter at current prices. This assumes an absence of land problems and crop disease. Even so, the prospect must be heavily discounted because of its uncertainty. Wage labour is now available [464] to a limited extent at a rate of £150 per year in town areas and [465] about £75 per year in rural areas.(1) At the time the coffee was planted, paid employment was scarcer and wages much lower.

411 Capital: Almost no capital is used in primary pro-
245 duction in Inonda. The few tools needed for small scale production are easily acquired from current income, the land is not an [654] item involving monetary cost, coffee seeds are available from neighbouring gardens and cocoa pods are supplied by the De- [494] partment of Agriculture at nominal cost. One man in a neighbouring village has a coffee huller in which the Inonda people have small shares, but as the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society (to which the Inonda growers belong) provides for all other processing, there is no need for any other equipment in the villages. Although the introduction of capital may increase output, considerable increases in output are possible without it, and capital cannot be regarded as a serious limiting factor in Inonda cash cropping at this stage.

164 Health: During the period of the survey about 7% of
460 time was accounted for by sickness and caring for the sick, but details of sickness were not recorded for those who were in mourning in their houses. The total for the period is estimated at 10% of all time accounted for. From superficial enquiries malaria seems to be the main cause of illness but other common ailments seen during our stay were filariasis, gastro-enteritis and influenza. The suitability of the diet for sustained hard work is not known, though it was noticed that men seldom work two days in succession on heavy labour like bush clearing (though they performed regular heavy work for wages). On several occasions when the nights were particularly cold the people got up shortly after midnight and sat around fires for the rest of the night to

[463] (1) Indentured labour is paid less, but relatively few Orokaiva are prepared to accept
[511] indenture. Direct comparison of gross incomes from cash cropping as against urban employment ignores the fact that food and housing costs are much higher in towns.

keep warm. As a consequence they slept much of the day following.

Non-traditional experience: Table 14 below shows that there is a correlation between non-traditional experience (in terms of years of paid work and education), and the planting of cash crops. Table 15 shows that there is likewise a correlation between years spent outside the village and the planting of cash crops. Absence from the village is generally but not invariably associated with work or schooling. The data presented in the tables suggest that an increase in non-traditional experience is associated with increased interest in cash cropping.

Table 14

Comparison of non-traditional experience (in terms of paid work and schooling) with planting of cash crops

Total years in paid work or school	Number of Coffee or Cocoa Trees	Code No. of Household Head
45	see note (a)	8
17	335	1
16	288	4
11	150	7
10	0	6
8	178	3
4	0	5
0	0	2

(a) This man is a stranger in the village, but he is currently planting extensive cocoa gardens in his village of origin.

731 In the second phase, which is well documented through the reports of Keesing and Belshaw, attitudes were more complex. Our present concern is solely with the question whether the evacuees continued to regard absence from their home villages as necessary. Later, we shall refer to the gratitude that was shown to the Europeans for helping them in their hour of need, the extraordinary degree of cooperation and orderliness that prevailed, the sense of guilt that may have motivated the people in their compliant attitudes. We shall also refer to the anxieties the people underwent at this period: the usual anxieties of camp life, the uncertainties of the whereabouts of many kinsfolk who might or might not be alive, the fear that somehow they would be unable to [823] get their land and villages back. Informants stressed to me that the worst suffering of those days was simply home sickness, the sense of desolation at being separated from the places to which they so intimately belonged. Hence, in spite of the fear for the mountain, the Orokaiva very soon began to exert pressure upon the camp authorities to let them return home.

731 This pressure is especially evident from Belshaw's data:
657 people argued that the Europeans would not necessarily know what would be a safe area should the volcano blow up again--hence the maintaining of the camps could not logically be justified by their supposed safety (Belshaw, page 244). When the authorities inquired whether the people favoured consolidation of villages, many of the answers "were framed so as to assure the authorities that all would be well if they left the refugee camps immediately; everything was subordinated to this end." (Belshaw, page 246). Every excuse was given for making trips to the home area, and the authorities seem to have tried to restrict the number of persons joining such expeditions; also, they evidently forbade women to join their husbands, all no doubt to ensure that people would really return to camp. In spite of this battle of wits, the period was one of relatively excellent Orokaiva-White relations. The point is, however, that the evacuation camps were soon regarded as increasingly unpleasant and unnecessary.

731 Attitudes also varied according to the distance between
[823] the camps and the home villages. At Cape Killerton and Oro Bay, the Orokaiva were deeply disturbed at being in foreign territory, far from their homes, and close to the sea which they particularly feared. I was told this by all Sangara informants and it is also [753] stated in Keesing's report. My informants also ascribed sickness of many people, especially old people, to homesickness. This does not conform to the medical record, as presented to me verbally by Dr. Gunther who was personally in charge of medical care in the [164] camps. Dr. Gunther said there was not much sickness; there were cases of spinal meningitis and paratyphoid, which he ascribed to close living together in the camps and which were "not very much [753] more" frequent than in any camp. It is significant, however,

CHAPTER V: Disease

Section 1: The Community as a Carrier of Disease

164 Data on Orokaiva health are sparse due to the absence of medical research. Some of the picture may be seen from the table of 1966 hospital admissions of St. Margaret's Hospital, Kroro (Table 11).[A] The figures for serious illness over the whole of the Northern District, are of course far higher than these figures indicate as only a fraction of cases of illness come to the notice of the hospital. It is estimated at 90% of the population is infected with malaria while filiariasis, gastro-enteritis, influenza, scabies and other skin diseases are also [146] extremely common. Some rough studies of Orokaiva diet, carried out under the auspices of Saiho hospital, seem to indicate that malnutrition plays only a minor role as the cause of Orokaiva disease, and patients admitted to hospital rarely have diseases caused by [165] malnutrition. Malaria causes many deaths among children, including one in Sivepe during the time of my stay. People are extremely anxious [155] about disease, even mild attacks of influenza or of malarial fever. The cause was always thought to be sorcery. [154]

Section 2: The Community as the Victim of Unfamiliar Disease

164 No unusual incidence of disease was noticed in the evacuation
731 camps, except for infections due to bad water supply at Cape Killerton camp which was evacuated after a week. Dr. Gunther noted some spinal meningitis and paratyphoid as "the result of close living together in camp." Some old people died, as informants told me, due to grief and loss of the will to live after the disaster.

Section 3: Community's Perception of New Location as Healthy or Unhealthy

753 The inhabitants of Ilimo camp were not particularly concerned
731 about health dangers in their new location. Ilimo was not far away from their own territory; villages such as Sivepe had had at least some friendly contact there and their fears were concentrated more on the safety of some of their kinsmen and the threat to the land and possessions they had left behind. It was different for the Sangara and Isivita people who were encamped in the Oro Bay area, in the midst

A [See Cat. 116, p. 216--Analyst]

753 of traditional enemies, in territory which had always been regarded
731 as hostile and dangerous. Keesing furthermore reports that "these
mountain people apparently could not conquer a fear of the sea, and
B21 this was reinforced by a rumour that a supernatural "tidal wave" was
to occur along the coast. The camp director told how every night the
more timid scattered on to the higher ground rather than sleep in the
camp on the foreshore."

There is no record that any fears continued after the people were resettled on their own lands. For instance, they ate the products of their land without regard to the fact that they had been scattered by volcanic ash.

164 The abrupt change in diet which occurred in the evacuation
262 camp seems to have had no injurious effects and aroused no great
931 concern. The people liked the rice and meat rations they were given. After awhile they began to long for their own food. Their expeditions to their home villages enabled them to collect at least some taro for themselves.

128 I shall discuss the general health problems of the Orokaiva and government and mission health measure in subsequent chapters.

TABLE 11

164 HOSPITAL ADMISSIONS IN ST. MARGARET'S (ANGLICAN) HOSPITAL AT ERORO; NORTHERN DISTRICT, OVER 1966

Tropical Ulcer	21
Infected Wounds	949
Yaws	4
Injuries	129
Malaria	427
Asthma	24
Bronchitis	437
Influenzas	3
Dental Caries	10
Intestinal Infections	73
Eyes	26
Ears	111
Filiariasis	40
Pyrexia Unknown Origin	759
TOTAL	2,941